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ABSTRACT

Education has long been a development priority in Africa. The failure and limitations of formal education have led to the emergence of nonformal alternatives of various types. They include extension education, training programs, multipurpose educational programs (for middle-level professionals), cooperative self-help programs (community development), integrated rural development, and the media. Data from a study in a rural Zairian community to involve people in planning a nonformal education program suggest that people's perceptions are important considerations in development planning. The sixty questions on the survey/interview instrument dealt with division of labor, personal fears and aspirations, views of adult education, and attitudes toward change. Findings indicated that importance is ascribed to formal education in Zairian society, many respondents are illiterate but would participate in a literacy education program, and adult learning is important to them. Participation in nonformal education activities at that time was good, but changes in the community generated by them were small and incremental. (YLB)

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FORMAL vs. NONFORMAL EDUCATION:

THE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

Presentation to the

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ABSTRACT

Education has long been a development priority in Africa. The failure and limitations of formal education have led to the emergence of nonformal alternatives of various types. In spite of the contributions of nonformal education programs, research in Zaire suggests that schools are still perceived as the road to progress. In the absence of a workable national policy, voluntary associations are shaping the application of nonformal education programs dealing with rural development problems.

INTRODUCTION

In his farewell address to the Board of Governors, World Bank President Robert McNamara characterized global economic prospects as deteriorating, difficult and depressing, particularly for the 1.1 billion people who live in the poorest countries (1980: 2-3). For the decade of the 1980s, he reported, a negative growth rate (as measured by GNP) for the 141 million people in the low-income countries of sub-Saharan Africa is anticipated as a result of the new surge of oil prices and continued recession in the industrialized nations (1980: 3). In several cases, food exporting nations in black Africa have become importers at the expense of hard currency reserves.

Education, for years projected as one solution to the problems of development, has its work cut out if it is to play a meaningful role in resolving the economic crisis in Africa today. As early as 1961, the African states participating in a UNESCO conference in Addis Ababa agreed that "education is not only a good thing, it is a paying thing" (Makulu, 1971: xvi). Tugbiyele calls education a necessary national investment and a key to overall national development (1973: 244). Kajubi, writing on the almost unquestioned faith in the power of the school in Africa,

suggests that it is perceived as almost the only means to social and economic development (1973: 77). This paramount concern with education is also manifested in policy statements by African political leaders; statements bearing such titles as "Education and Social Progress", "Education for Self-Reliance" and "Our Students Must Participate in the Development of the Country". In fact, the premise of many development planners appears to be, "when in doubt, educate".

Stensland suggests that "development always is interwoven with education" (1978: 253). He describes development as the "action strand... both moving the whole system upward to higher levels of quality or forward to new bases" (1978: 258). To be effective in facilitating national development, he concludes, education should strive:

> (1) to define social needs and problems, (2) to prepare effective contributors to social development, (3) to apply knowledge to the solution of development problems, (4) to strengthen education at other levels than higher education, and (5) to help society to define values and purposes (1978: 261).

The question, as Amin suggests, remains; what kind of education for what kind of development? (1975) The anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits nearly two decades ago described African societies as dynamic cultural systems, receptive to innovation and change (1964). The task is to determine how schools and nonformal adult education can most effectively address the problems of contemporary society, but in a manner consistent with the notion that people have the right to control the direction of their own lives.

This paper examines the contributions of various nonformal education strategies in Africa and then reports the results of a study in rural Zaire on the perceptions of education and the nature of change.

FORMAL AND NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Coombs distinguishes between formal, informal and nonformal education, arguing that formal education is the "hierarchically structured chronologically graded 'educational system', running from the primary school through the university and including ...a variety of specialized programs and institutions for fulltime technical and professional training" (1973: 11). He refers to the process of socialization or enculturation as informal education and defines nonformal education as "any organized educational activity outside the established formal system..that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives" (Coombs, 1973: 11).

Grandstaff sharpens this distinction between formal and nonformal education by outlining differences of administrative affiliation, pedagogical style, function, reward system and cultural congruence between the two concepts (1978: 181). Both he and Coombs suggest that nonformal education programs are generally more congruent with the modal learning patterns of the client populations than are formal education structures.

SCHOOLING IN AFRICAN SOCIETY

Critics of formal education such as Illich (1970) and Reimer (1971) have clearly demonstrated the problems generated by, or accentuated by schools. Many of these are particularly acute in the African context where formal education was imposed as part of the colonial package, not to prepare people for solving their own problems, but rather to fill bureaucratic functions within alien administrative structures (Amin 1975).

Kamian describes formal education as inappropriate for the local African environment (1974: 416). Kajubi emphasizes the gap between the content of schooling and the living experiences of learning, and points

out that the content of education is still frequently based on the knowledge and experiences of other countries (1973: 80-81). Kamian concurrs and describes the "unremitting advance of alien values working through the educational systems and technological a priories of the industrialized countries...."(1974: 415). Some African university graduates, according to Bagunywa, delight, if not boast, of their inablility to write in their own native tongue or to join in traditional dances (1975: 221).

At the same time, certificates and diplomas in Africa serve as the mechanism through which school graduates find employment in the urban sector. However, given the structural imbalance between the outflow of students and employment opportunities in the cities, unemployment is rampant (Colclough, 1973: 571). The economies of most African states are unable to absorb many educated persons which means that some graduate and many school-leavers do not find jobs commensurate with their training. At the same time, the young continue their movement to the cities while per capita, agricultural production falls.

These problems and failures notwithstanding, the demand for more educational facilities in Africa is an important political issue. Government leaders, Ofuatey-Kojow says, are finding it impossible to resist this demand indefinitely (1976: 241). In 1967, Tanzania's President Nyerere stated that education received 20 percent of the national budget (1968: 49) and a 1976 report from Kenya noted that educational expenditures that year increased 13.3 percent while total government expenditures that year increased by 11.4 percent (Ward and Herzog, 1976: 8).

Although it is premature to generalize on the contributions of nonformal education to African development, a number of alternative strategies have evolved.

NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Development planners have increasingly looked toward nonformal education activities for the education of adults. These programs tend to be small, fragmented, diversified and decentralized by definition--with exceptions, of course. Coombs points to this diversity and suggests that there is no "nonformal education system" but rather individual programs within the context of larger systems (1976: 288). A review of the literature reveals a variety of alternative approaches for addressing development problems through nonformal education in Africa.

Extension Education

Although reflecting a variety of organization and structure, the agricultural extension function exists in every nation-state (Axinn and Thorat, 1972: 3). Most African extension systems have their roots in the regulatory functions of colonial administrative structures. Several distinctive approaches can be seen in a cursory survey of the extension literature. First, the basic elements of the "training and visit system" (Benor and Harrison, 1977) are incorporated into the national models of many countries such as Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania. Predicated on the assumption that applying improved technologies will increase production, trained professionals diffuse new agricultural practices which they encourage farmers to adopt.

In the nongovernmental sector, the extension function takes at least three other forms. Some voluntary associations develop demonstration farms that incorporate recommended agricultural practices on the scale of local cultivators, but financed through the resources of the educational organization. Visits by farmers to the demonstration and follow-through by the project staff are designed to encourage the adoption process. Similarly, in other contexts, progressive farmers are subsidized to share their successful experiences with neighbors by serving as model farms. Another common tactic of voluntary agencies in places like Zaire where breeding stock, seed and other production materials are scarce, is the creation of production centers that also include an extension component (Ewert, 1977).

A last category of extension programs can be seen in both the public and private sectors. Governmental or quasi-governmental agencies such as marketing boards and organizations such as the Kenyan Tea Authority are engaged in extension, apart from the extension program in the Ministry of Agriculture. Private corporations such as palm oil and mining companies in Zaire frequently maintain a system of extension agents or agronomes to encourage their own employees to produce food for themselves.

While extension has improved the quality of life for many, its critics have clearly pointed out some underlying problems. Freire has challenged the very assumptions of the extension paradigm (1973) and DeVries has shown us the hazzards of uncritically transplanting alien structures (1978). A more basic problem, however, was the success of the extension concept under Africa's colonial regimes in introducing and spreading export crops such as cocoa, cotton and tea at the expense of food production

(Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 32). Many Third World nations are now paying in endemic malnutrition for this distortion of their indigenous economic systems.

Training Programs

The human capital view of educational planning in Africa has spawned a variety of training programs ranging from agriculture and literacy to vocational education. First, farmers training centers (FTCs) have played an important role in nonformal education in rural Africa, though with considerable variation in basic orientation. In Kenya, for example, the intent of the FTCs was to help subsistence cultivators become commercial farmers, while in Senegal, they were conceived as part of a broader, highly institutionalized rural training scheme that also included nonagricultural skills (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 36-43).

A second category of programs has emphasized vocational skills targeted for out-of-school youth. Examples include the village polytechnics in Kenya (Sheffield and Diejomaoh, 1972: 75-86) and the brigade movement which originated in Ghana but was further developed in Botswana (Sheffield and Diejomaoh, 1972: 65-74). In Zaire, the youth wing of the nation's only political party (MPR) has attempted to provide some agricultural and vocational training, though with uncertain results.

The industrial sector includes another group of nonformal education programs with a training focus. Sheffield and Diejomaoh provide a variety of examples of pre-service programs ranging from pilot training in Ethiopia to a study group sponsored by a Catholic Church in Dar es Salaam (1972: 30-32). On-the-job training for upgrading skills and improving performance is also widespread within the business community.

Literacy programs are also frequently grouped with training strategies in discussions of nonformal education in Africa. The limitations of conceptualization and measurement are well-documented in the literature but by any definition, it is clear that the problem of illiteracy in Africa is acute (Fisher, 1980). So is the debate over what to do about it. The UNESCO sponsored Experimental World Literacy Program initiated in the 1960s attempted to synthesize what was known regarding literacy education and then to test various strategies in different parts of the world. Freire, once and for all, exploded the functional view of literacy as the intellectual process of learning how to manipulate symbols (1970). The arguement over whether development-oriented literacy should be work-oriented or life-skills oriented continues (cf. Rafe-uz-Zaman, 1978) but the Declaration of Persepolis clearly affirmed the qualitative importance of literacy education. The goals of literacy have been recognized to transcend the narrow and mechanistic socio-economic changes earlier assumed to be the content of "development" (Kassam, 1978: 27). Reflecting upon what would happen if the whole world suddenly became literate, Galtung suggests; "nothing". However, if the literacy concept meant that the world would be full of autonomous, critical, constructive people, capable of translating ideas into action, the whole world would change (Galtung, 1975: 39).

The results to date have not been particularly encouraging. Wagaw's appraisal of adult literacy programs in Ethiopia is that they are "wasteful and meaningless for the majority of their participants" (1978: 507). Similarly, UNESCO's evaluation of the EWLP reveals a mixed bag of small steps forward intermingled with major disappointments (UNESCO, 1976).

Multipurpose Educational Programs

Several multipurpose programs have been established to provide nonformal education for middle-level professionals. The Pan African Institutes for Development in Douala and Bueau (Cameroons) provides an opportunity for project leaders to study program management (Sheffield and Diejomaoh, 1972: 143-155). INADES, based in the Ivory Coast, offers correspondence courses on agriculture, development and social issues for both practitioners and program planners (Sheffield and Diejomaoh, 1972: 168-171). Daystar Communications in Nairobi provides training in communications for Church leaders involved in outreach, education and social services.

Cooperative Self-Help Programs

Another category of nonformal education programs in which African adults become involved is the community development movement in English speaking countries (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 67-68). With an emphasis on social rather economic development, the focus of educational change has been to stimulate self-help actions. In Francophone Africa, animation rurale is similarly seen as a mechanism through which people are awakened to their potential and encouraged to initiate changes in the community (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 71). Specifically, communities select animateurs, who receive training in problem-solving and group process, and then return with the task of animating their peers. This concept also underlies the "Faith and Farm" program in Northern Nigeria (Batchelor, 1970).

The educational content, from this perspective, is the process of determining needs and mobilizing community resources to solve local problems.

Integrated Rural Development

Nonformal education strategies geared toward intergrated rural development are also relatively common in Africa, both in the governmental and voluntary sectors. Perhaps the best known regional development project in Africa is the Gezira scheme in Sudan which began with narrow economic goals and then evolved over several decades to include broader social goals (Gaitskell, 1959). Launched under British auspices following World War I as an irrigation project designed to expand cotton production, it eventually led to the involvement of various ministries of government which brought programs to strengthen schools, recreational services, local councils, adult education and other essentials for improved village life (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 92). In 1968, the CADU project was launched in the Chilalo region of Ethiopia to help low-income farmers by providing better varieties, more efficient cultivation techniques, marketing assistance, credit and other infrastructural inputs. The strategy was based on the intensive training of project staff, extension agents, leaders of cooperative societies and a few selected model farmers, combined with extension services to selected farmers (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 95-99). The probelm has been determining how to integrate this rather autonomous entity into the structures of government (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 99).

Voluntary associations have also actively promoted the integrated development concept in rural Africa. Frequently growing out of the activities of Church and mission groups, these projects have included agricultural information, improved seeds, pesticides, public health and

nutrition education, and sometimes credit. In the Kasai Region of Zaire, for example, the SEDA program was structured as an apprenticeship training project, combined with extension visits to local farmers. This was later expanded to include weekend seminars in various villages on topics including health, nutrition and agriculture (Regier, 1977). In nearby Bandundu Region, another project which grew out of the relief efforts of the Mennonite Church was also based on the integrated development concept (Ewert, 1977).

The Media and Nonformal Education

The media has probably been used more effectively for nonformal education purposes in Tanzania than in any other African nation. Following independence, the government promoted rural cooperative societies for production marketing through broadcast courses combined with group discussions led by someone in the village who could read the accompanying printed texts and correspondence units (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 158-159). The government later launched a major health campaign which also combined radio broadcasts with group discussions (Hall, 1978).

Several experiments were carried out in West Africa with the "village press" concept in which communities were encouraged to publish their own newspapers designed to promote heightened consciousness and development effort. A problem with this approach has been sustaining the initiative of pilot projects. When outside funding was eliminated the programs frequently collapsed (Hiebert, 1980).

NONFORMAL EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Several observations can be made based on the preceeding survey:

1. Diversity of Nonformal Education Programs - While educators trained in "schooling" tend to look for "systems", experience reveals the existence of a variety of programs ranging from nation-wide extension services to community-based projects involving a handful of participants. Nonformal education is pervasive in both the poorest and wealthiest nations in Africa. Although pedagogical in purpose and design, many schemes are frequently not even considered "education" by development planners.

2. Role of Voluntary Associations - The development literature suggests that nongovernmental programs have made important contributions to social change in Africa. Most, are relatively small, localized, based on limited resources and geared toward a restricted clientele. Their record, however, is generally good (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974).

3. Fragmentation of Efforts - The profusion of nonformal education programs in Africa, many with widely diverging views of the development task, make coordination and collaboration difficult. Some include hidden agendas that may be at variance with, or at least not supportive of, national development goals. Lack of coordination leads to duplication of programs in some areas while others remain unserved.

4. Importance of a National Commitment - In reviewing the state of literacy education, Hall suggests that national will and political power are basic to successful educational development (1975). The Tanzanian commitment to nonformal education, for example, contrasts sharply with the experience of Zaire where limited educational resources are targeted for schools. In the latter case, voluntary associations are forced to assume what are generally considered to be the normal functions of government, in promoting nonformal education.

Coombs, whose studies have influenced development planners around the world suggests several conclusions regarding the role of nonformal education in change. First, nonformal education of the right kinds and in the right places is indispensible for bringing about rural development. Second, even the poorest countries should be able to mobilize human and other resources to expand nonformal education. Third, developing nations can forge ahead more quickly in nonformal education if given assistance from the outside (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 235).

While there is little doubt regarding the contribution of nonformal education in contemporary Africa, the views of education held by potential participants is an important consideration. A study in a rural Zairian community attempted to involve people in planning a nonformal education program. The data suggest that people's perceptions are important considerations in devleopment planning.

EDUCATIONAL PRIORITIES IN RURAL ZAIRE

Zaire's social history is well-known to students of Africa as an extreme example of domination and oppression. World opinion forced Belgium to assume the Congo as a colony following several decades of brutal exploitation by foreign entrepreneurs in 1908. This exploitation had been tolerated by Belgium's King Leopold II who considered the territory to be his private domain (Slade, 1962). Subsequently, the 50 years of colonial rule which followed the Leopoldian regime ended with independence for Zaire in 1960. Instead of economic progress which people assumed would follow political change, Zaire was torn with ethnic and regional strife. While the government struggled to re-establish civil authority in the face of armed rebellion, voluntary associations began massive relief and reconstruction efforts in the area.

In Bandundu Region, Programme Agricole Protestante (PAP) was chartered under the Eglise du Christ au Zaire to restablish livestock production which had been virtually destroyed by the Kwilu rebellion. The early relief goals were broadened to encompass a wider range of economic and social development activities (Ewert, 1977).

A survey based on interviews with 100 randomly selected heads of households was carried out in the seven village community of Mudiwamba in 1976 as part of an attempt to assess the nonformal education needs of the area. The instrument included 60 questions dealing with the division of labor, personal fears and aspirations, views of adult education and attitudes toward change. The interviews were carried out in Kituba, the lingua franca of the region, by PAP's Zairian staff.

Individual Priorities

Observation suggested that in addition to paying taxes, people in the community spend their money primarily for: (1) food; (2) clothing; (3) radios and tape recorders; (4) cattle and (5) children's school fees. Food and clothing are considered basic needs in the region, radios/recorders are common luxury items while cattle are seen as an economic investment. The payment of school fees is a major topic of conversation in every village throughout the region.

In an attempt to assess individual priorities, the survey instrument included a series of questions framed within the context of how the respondents would spend an unexpectedly received amount of money ($100 U.S. equivalent). The five items were matched as alternatives in dyadic form, as illustrated by the following examples:

1. Would you purchase a radio/tape recorder or pay school fees for your children?
2. Would you pay school fees for your children or buy food?
3. Would you buy a cow or purchase some cloth?
4. Would you purchase some cloth or buy food?

The dyads included every possible combination, with respondents selecting one alternative in each set. The responses were then scaled by counting the number of times an item was selected by a particular individual. To ascertain the overall priorities of the sample, a weighted scale was developed that was based on the number of individuals, multiplied by the number of times each item was selected:

TABLE I: PRIORITIES OF THE MUDIWAMBA POPULATION

	Number of Times Chosen						
Item	Not Chosen	Chosen Once	Chosen Twice	Chosen Three Times	Chosen Four Times	Score for Item	% of Total Score
Radio/ recorder	83	16	1	0	0	18	1.8%
Buy a cow	5	56	28	10	1	146	14.6%
Buy cloth	0	9	52	37	2	232	23.2%
Buy food	3	14	29	36	18	252	25.2%
Pay school fees	0	0	8	33	59	351	35.1%
Total						999	99.9%

The table shows that 83 respondents never chose "radio/recorder" over its alternatives in the dyads, so 83 x 0 = 0. Sixteen chose "radio/recorder" once so that item is worth 16 points (16 x 1 = 16). One person selected "radio/recorder" twice (1 x 2 = 2). The total score for the item, "radio/recorder" was 18 (0 + 16 + 2). The same calculation was performed for the other items, all of which were then ranked in terms of priority.

This suggests the importance ascribed to formal education in Zairian society. The mean income reported in the sample was the equivilent of $8 - 9 USA per month. Primary school teachers in the same community, on the other hand, were earning approximately $120/month at the time of the survey. Translated into differences of lifestyle, the earning differential means that teachers are better able to afford pressure lamps, motorbikes, vinyl-covered furniture, radios/recorders, good clothes and fresh meat.

Colough suggests that formal education in Africa pays a high rate of return (1977: 573), a fact which is confirmed by this study. A secondary school diploma is almost essential for many well-paying positions in business, industry or education. Although not a sufficient condition for success, such a credential increases the liklihood of upward mobility. Economically, graduates are better off remaining unemployed, in the city, living with relatives for a year or longer, than if they returned to their own villages in rural areas. While the probabilities of finding a good position may be remote, the rewards of success are high and therefore worth the gamble.

The economic arguments for pursuing a secondary education are

compelling but Dore points out the qualitative rewards as well. The difference that schooling makes, he suggests, is that between being in the corporate world of the 20th Century--the world of careers, security, urban living--versus being totally excluded from that world to rot in the inanity of rural life (1975: 57).

Views of Adult Education

The Mudiwamba study revealed a high illiteracy rate, particularly among women, as the following table suggests:

TABLE II: ADULT LITERACY IN MUDIWAMBA

	Female		Male		
	N	%	N	%	Total N
Not literate	49	96	31	43	70
Literate	2	4	28	57	30
Total	51	100	49	100	100

Although the inherent dangers of utilizing self-reporting techniques as indicators of literacy should be underscored, the results nevertheless point out the magnitude of the problem. Respondents identifying themselves as "not literate" were then asked whether they would participate in a literacy education program. Nearly all of the men (91%) and most of the women (76%) responded in the affirmative. Those indicating no interest in literacy education generally gave advanced age and poor health as explanations.

Another question explored people's views of education for adults.

A strong majority (87%) reported that learning is important for them as well as for children. In an open-ended, follow-up question, the respondents were invited to identify specific areas in which they would like to learn. The following were suggested: reading and writing (32%), how to raise animals (19%), learn about God (19%), how to make fields (12%) and how to "work hard" (9%). Other items mentioned less frequently included, how to raise fish in ponds, the "wisdom of the elders", how to raise children, French, auto mechanics and medicine.

Participation in a variety of nonformal education activities at the time of the survey was good. Men and women attended seminars on rabbit production, fish pond construction, nutrition and the principles of public health. A number of farmers built rabbit hutches and constructed or improved existing fish production ponds. Other people tried soybeans which were being introduced into the community for the first time.

Although some individuals pointed with pride to their rabbit projects, soybean plots and ponds, there was little evidence of major changes in people's lives. While a number of families added soybeans to their menus, no appreciable improvements in nutritional level were observed in subsequent visits to the community. A rigorous evaluation is needed to determine the extent to which these observations can be documented. The preliminary conclusion, however, is that the changes generated by the nonformal education activities in the community were small and incremental.

Increased production is difficult to translate into capital accumulation because of the Zairian government's pricing policies, corruption among administrative functionaries and the ravages of inflation. Exploitation by agricultural moniteurs enforcing acreage quotas, unjust fines levied by

health inspectors and the practice of tax collectors to charge whatever the market would bear were regular occurances in the community. So were stories of how farmers lost their livestock on the way to market when their animals were confiscated by soldiers manning checkpoints along the road. Clearly, commercial agriculture was, and continues to be, a tenuous proposition.

Children from the community, on the other hand, though educated at great expense to their respective families, were sometimes able to parley their diplomas into well-paying jobs. Part of their earnings flowed back into the local system in the form of health care, luxury goods, tin roofs, pressure lanterns, new clothes and sometimes even cattle.

Predictably, perhaps, community discussions on nonformal education strategies for meeting local needs frequently focused on one recurring theme; "If you really want to help us", the cry went, "Build more schools for our children". In the words of an older woman, "Don't waste money on us. It is too late for us. Take your money and build another school right here." Not only was there little faith in the potential of nonformal education to improve the quality of life, resources budgeted for that purpose were perceived as being diverted from formal education whose efficiency had been historically documented.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN RURAL ZAIRE

There is little evidence that the present regime will seriously address Zaire's endemic social and economic problems. Rural poverty, as Lemarchand points out, is not new in Zaire. What is new is the "depth of the social dislocations it has engendered and the mechanisms and attitudes that lie in the background of this massive affliction" (Lemarchand, p. 237). Peeman's incisive analysis outlines the historical roots of Zaire's current economic crisis but concludes that the government is unlikely to

clean up its economic act through sound fiscal policies (1975). Subsequent events have shown that his pessimism was warrented.

The problems of underdevelopment in Zaire, Gould concurs, are structural. An authoritarian, paternalistic, repressive system designed to serve the class interests of a national bourgeois elite is the product; a result that excludes the majority of the population from participation in development (1977: 378). The equity problem which lies at the heart of the rural crisis cannot be solved short of major social revolution that would not only alter existing patterns of resource distribution but result in a radical transformation of class alliances at home and abroad (Lemarchand, p. 358).

Political opposition in the Kwilu is unlikely, given the vivid memories of retribution from the 1964-65 rebellion. With essentially no demonstration of the government's commitment to nonformal education, voluntary associations continue to sponsor a variety of programs ranging from agricultural extension and rural cooperatives to literacy education and integrated development. These efforts are generally small, localized, fragmented, and nonreplicable models since they usually emerge from a specific historical context.

The viable alternative for the subsistence farmer dreaming of a better life is to invest in the formal education of his children. The payoff makes the gamble worthwhile.

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